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The Shape of Things

THE MIDTERM ADJOURNMENT OF CONGRESS leaves a most imposing slate of unfinished business. While the high-minded gentlemen on the Hill were spending months over the Lilienthal confirmation, cuts in appropriations, un-American activities, and the Taft-Hartley labor act, they were neglecting certain matters of some concern to important sections of their constituents. A few million Americans, many of them veterans, now doubled and tripled up with relatives, watched for the emergence of any housing program. None came. A few million American farmers wanted to know what was to take the place of the war-time price-support program, which expires at the end of 1949. They got no answer. A few million workers, on the sub-level of existence, wondered about an increase in legal minimum wages. Congress was dumb. The hundreds of thousands who saw their homes and lands inundated by the Mississippi floods wanted to know if they could count on the protection their friends in the Tennessee Valley enjoyed. They received an inspiring message from the President. Teachers in all states wondered about their disgracefully low salaries. Working and middle-class people wondered about how to meet doctors' bills. But Congress had no time for such socialistic measures as federal aid to health and education. The army—and all of us—wondered about the proposal for universal military training. It did not reach the level of Congressional debate. Exporters and importers, in this country and in other nations, looked for an extension of authority to negotiate reciprocal-trade agreements. They looked in vain. What *have* our Representatives been doing these last six months?

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"WE ARE DEALING WITH A HUMAN PROBLEM, a world tragedy." In these words, the President called on Congress to act, before this session ends, on the Stratton bill to admit to this country 400,000 of Europe's displaced persons during the next four years. Last week, his words were reinforced by urgent appeals from Secretary of State Marshall, former secretary of War Patterson, and Secretary of Commerce Harriman. All stressed the inhumanity of allowing these castaways of war to rot in Europe's camps. When Representative Gossett interrupted to remind Mr. Marshall that the United States had a higher alien population than any other country in the world, the Secretary replied: "That is the significance of the Statue of Liberty." Opponents of the House bill and the similar one in the Senate have pleaded there is no time to take this momentous step before Congress adjourns. (The Stratton bill has been in the House since April.) The hurry of our Representatives to get home is matched against the weary despair of those who have known no home since the war ended, many of them since Hitler first began to imprison those who believed in liberty. To refuse to take action is to deny the one hope of a new life to thousands, to weaken still further our prestige in the eyes of the world, and to lessen our own self-respect as a people dedicated to the promotion of human rights. If time runs out and Congress adjourns without acting, then the Stratton bill should be placed on the agenda of the special session of Congress likely to be called to discuss the Marshall plan. For the rescue of those 400,000 displaced persons is a vital part of any plan for Europe's reconstruction.

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THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO cut newsprint imports was indorsed by the House of Commons in spite of a barrage of criticism from members of all parties. The cut means that British newspapers must either reduce circulation or return to the four-page format of war time. As a result, it is charged, publishers will lose revenue, workers will lose jobs, and the task of keeping the public properly informed about current events will be rendered immeasurably more difficult. Moreover, it is argued, the maximum saving to be achieved is $12,000,000, a minute fraction of the current trade deficit. We sympathize with British publishers and journalists but realize that the Labor government has a case too. Its thankless task is to cut down imports at a time when they are so far below the total Britain could absorb that any cut must be painful. As a first step, it has chosen to curtail the foreign exchange allotted to newsprint, gasoline, and tobacco. Reductions in the second and third items will be hard on smokers and owners of private automobiles, but these commodities cannot be classed as absolute necessities like food. Newsprint is a necessity, but in distinction to most of the raw materials imported by Britain, it does not enter directly into the

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manufacture of exports, and a smaller supply will do less harm to the economy than, say, a smaller supply of copper. There is no good reason to suppose, therefore, that the reduction in newsprint imports is based on anything but strictly economic considerations.

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NEVERTHELESS, OPPOSITION SPOKESMEN have voiced the suspicion that the government's action was inspired by its "well-known dislike and contempt for the popular press." Such charges are perhaps no more than the normal currency of debate, but it is strange to find them parroted in a New York *Times* editorial. The Labor government, that paper suggests, is "making incidental use of a tight foreign-exchange position to still the voices of its British critics." And it links this "discriminatory policy" with the British government's authorization of "a secret inquiry into the British press." As the *Times* ought to be aware, the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Press was authorized by a free vote of the House of Commons. Moreover, the decision to hear oral evidence in private was made not by the government but by the commission itself. It seems that working newspapermen could not afford to risk their jobs by talking frankly in public about what goes on behind editorial iron curtains—one of the things which the commission is supposed to discover. However, a long memorandum presented to the commission by the National Union of Journalists has been made public. This interesting document disproves the charge that the union favors government ownership or control of newspapers. It denounces specific abuses such as news distortion and misleading headlines but agrees that legal remedies might infringe on press freedom. Consequently, it calls for the formation of a British Press Council with authority to draw up and power to enforce a professional code of ethics. When the full text of this important memorandum is available in this country, we hope to give our readers further particulars.

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BIG HEADLINES MARCHED RIGHT ACROSS THE front pages of several New York evening newspapers last week, announcing the invasion of Greece by large forces of guerrillas from Albania, including an "international brigade." The United States, in the person of Mr. Herschel V. Johnson, warned the Security Council that the situation might "burst into an explosion any day" and demanded emergency meetings on the "invasion." Editorials called for "action" before it was too late. Too late for what? No one answered directly, but presumably the new international brigade was only the advance guard of a Russian army which would presently sweep through the Balkans and Greece, precipitating the final struggle to decide the hegemony of the world. The

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should refrain from leasing the apartments involved."

A second resolution by Jean Back, an interpreter, was milder, and "advised" employees to boycott the Peter Cooper apartments. But the third, submitted by Henri Cornil, a Security Council division administrator, was dynamite—and called upon the Secretary General to refer the staff protest back to the member governments. Cornil's resolution also calls upon the U. N. itself to provide bias-free housing.

The three resolutions have now to be hammered together, and the entire staff to vote on them. Another meeting is scheduled for this week—perhaps by the time you read this.

Meantime, delegates to the United Nations itself who sincerely want the U. N. Charter to stand for something—like Eleanor Roosevelt, chairman of the Human Rights Commission—might well ponder the words of the staff member, a doctor born in Africa—"where they have 300,000,000 black people"—, who said soberly and with great grace, into a microphone in the "Econ-Soc" chamber last Thursday, "If we do accept the use of the Peter Cooper Village now, in any form, it will not only hurt the American Negroes but hurt a great many more people abroad. All of us should understand the spirit of the Charter. It is a question of the rights of man."

Alaska Arms Again

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Annette Island, Alaska, July 20

THE generals and admirals don't want to be poor prophets a second time. In 1939, President Roosevelt asked the War Department about the condition of Alaskan garrisons and bases. The army then had 298 soldiers in the Territory, their ancient guns at Chilkoot Barracks pointed in the direction of our Canadian neighbors. However, the President was informed that "there appears at present to be no necessity from the viewpoint of national defense of increasing the military establishment in Alaska." The Chief of Naval Operations displayed equal complacency, reporting that "the Navy Department is on record as not in favor of very large appropriations for naval facilities in Alaska."

A few days later, the Aleutian Islands became the first American soil to be invaded in nearly a century and a half, bombs fell on Dutch Harbor, and army officers who could speak the Eskimo tongue desperately organized the natives for guerrilla warfare. Now the military departments are arming Alaska against a possible future enemy whose identity is by no means a secret.

Alaska has seen the wheel of international relations turn full circle. The phenomenon may be discussed around mahogany tables in Washington and London, but it happened in Alaska. Two years ago, a mission of a thousand Soviet aviators occupied barracks at Ladd Field near Fairbanks, taking delivery of fighter planes and medium bombers flown north along the Alcan Highway. Today, at Mile 26 on the Alcan out of Fairbanks, the War Department is constructing a satellite field from which super-bombers can be sent winging into Siberia. The allies who roamed the streets of Fairbanks in 1945, buying perfume and lingerie for their girls, may be met again some day on an Arctic battlefield.

At Nome, Galena, and Anchorage the army is lengthening runways and building new hangars. The Alaska Railroad, whose equipment dates back to the driving of the golden spike by Warren G. Harding, is getting new locomotives and its spurs are being extended. Tunnels are under construction to take traffic off inflammable trestles. Prime Minister King has promised that Canada will maintain its 1,220 miles of the Alcan Highway so as to keep open an alternative route to Alaska if the sea lanes should be jeopardized. Commercial airfields at Annette Island, Juneau, and Yakutat are being made ready to receive the new big bombers.

These preparations are popular in Alaska. The golden trickle from the federal treasury, turned off after V-J Day, has commenced to flow again. Alaskan towns are booming. The white population of the Territory has increased at least 50 per cent. Both wages and prices are fantastic. Carpenters earn $520 a month but must pay $1.25 a dozen for eggs, $1.50 for a haircut, 60 cents for a hamburger sandwich at a lunch counter, and $1.40 for a quart of mediocre ice cream. As during the war, the present defense contracts are on a cost-plus basis. This means that spending is reckless, with five men on hand to do three men's work.

But beyond all this, the military activities are applauded for geopolitical reasons. When World II was being fought, vast good-will for Russia was created in Alaska. Alaskans overlooked the fact that though Soviet missions were at Fairbanks, Galena, and Nome, no

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, an Oregon journalist who served in Alaska during the war, has returned there this summer and is sending The Nation *frequent reports on our Arctic bastion.*

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American mechanic was allowed in the planes which flew westward across Bering Strait. The Russian fliers were personally popular. They drained the half-a-dollar Alaskan milkshakes at a single draft, winked at the married waitresses, and hammered the counter for another "wanilla." Warm friendly relations melted international suspicions.

There is still none of the hysteria which the Hearst press hints has gripped the Territory. People do not think Russian atomic missiles are about to zoom over from Siberia. But the spy trials in Ottawa have aroused some concern. And Russia's intransigence at the peace table is considered in connection with the 14,400 combat planes delivered to it on Alaskan soil during the war. Even liberals in the territorial legislature and local newspaper offices have bitterly denounced the left-wing labor leaders in the United States who called the army's cold-weather experiment, "Operation Frostbite," a hostile act against the Soviet Union. Delegate E. L. Bartlett, a New Deal Democrat, has asked when Alaskans will be told as much about Siberian air bases, roads, and rail lines as the Russians know from first-hand observation.

The tragedy of this vast defense boom in Alaska is that it is not accompanied by any effort to give the Territory a stable and enduring civilization. Three years ago, the North Pacific Study financed by the State Department pointed out: "When North America was suddenly threatened through Alaska, our armed forces had to begin almost from scratch in an uninhabited wilderness which lacked most of the essential transportation, communication, and other instruments and social institutions which a decently developed civilian society would already have provided. These facilities would have been immediately available to the military forces had there been in Alaska a larger, better-distributed, and more permanent population carrying on the normal economic and social activities characteristic of Americans in 'the States.' "

The housing shortage in Alaska is so aggravated that families have tried to survive in tents during the 50-below-zero winters of the interior valleys. The territorial Department of Health contends that half the housing in Alaska is substandard. Even in communities within sight of the vast spruce and hemlock forests of the Alaskan "panhandle," no method has been worked out to solve the lumber shortage. The Alaska Development Board has been drawing up detailed plans for local exploitation of Alaskan resources, but the 1947 territorial legislature refused funds to continue the undertaking. The legislature, dominated by canneries and mining corporations, turned down Governor Gruening's plea for enactment of a territorial income tax. This scandalous situation, of which little is known in the United States, means that government in Alaska is virtually hamstrung.

For many years, Alaska has been the most lightly taxed entity under the American flag. Not until a 1 per cent sales tax was passed in 1946 for veterans' benefits did the Territory have a single general tax. It still has no income or property tax. The salmon industry, worth $55,000,000 a year, pays only a few cents on each case of fish. Yet Alaska needs funds for schools, roads, public health, and law enforcement. Some Alaskan cities have only four or five miles of roads beyond their limits. Veterans have been deterred from settling on the farm land of the Territory by the almost total lack of transportation and communication. Wendell P. Kay, director of the Alaska Housing Authority, declares that Alaska's death rate from tuberculosis, already the highest in the world, has been aggravated by overcrowding in icy tents, crumbling shacks, and unchinked cabins.

Alaska has vast open spaces but no wilderness police force to compare with the Royal Mounted of Canada. A criminal recently apprehended in Alaska confessed to six murders. Territorial law-enforcement officials did not even know his victims were missing. A federal judge told me that prospectors and trappers disappear in "the bush" and on one ever looks for them. "Not only are criminals uncaught generally in Alaska," he continued, as we ate fifty-cent cheese sandwiches in Ketchikan, "but I am convinced there is no real knowledge of what crimes are committed."

Alaska is maturing. Its cities are becoming increasingly like cities in Oregon and Washington. But its government is wholly unable to cope with the needs of the region. The Territory's feeble legislature cannot set up courts of either original or appellate jurisdiction. All legislative acts are subject to repeal by Congress. With no vote in Congress, the Alaskan Delegate is without influence. Even postal regulations victimize the Territory. All parcel post in Alaska is charged the eighth-zone rate. It costs as much to send a package the fourteen miles from Skagway to Haines as it does to send the same parcel from Seattle to New York City. Last year, Alaskans voted for statehood, but the present session of Congress has declined to act. It thought a delegation should visit the Territory this summer for further "analysis"—rainbow trout twenty-two inches long are caught in Alaska.

Alaska needs families. The present white population of 58,000 is a huge proportionate increase over the 39,000 whites who lived there before the war, but it is still made up of shifting, footloose men. Pan-American recently flew in 2,500 workers to lengthen runways and clear ground. The army is recruiting construction crews along the Seattle and Portland waterfronts. Canneries ship up boatloads of Filipinos who are virtually indentured laborers. Less than 15 per cent of Alaska's white people were born in the Territory. Those who *were* born there seldom stay. Of 10,595 Alaskan-born whites enumerated in the census of 1940, only 4,352 were living in Alaska. Governor Gruening is compiling a pamphlet out of answers to the question: "Why did you leave Alaska?"

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One of the most frequent is lack of economic opportunity. Another is the difficulty of finding a place to live.

To sustain families, Alaska requires a solid economic base. The salmon industry is principally carried on by migrant labor brought by boat from Seattle. Gold-mining is a frail reed, an artificial industry dependent on financial manipulation rather than on genuine human needs. Pulp and paper would underpin the shaky economy of southeastern Alaska, and Secretary Krug has prophesied a newsprint enterprise employing 12,000 people—more people than live in Anchorage, the biggest Alaskan city. The spruce and hemlock forests of the panhandle could supply a fourth of America's newsprint, but owing to the present soaring wage and price scales the Alaskan product cannot compete with newsprint from other sources.

Alaska must have schools, hospitals, and communications. It must be freed from absentee government and absentee ownership of its natural resources. The American West was developed when the railroads received huge land grants to subsidize low freight rates and fares; the Northern Pacific got $136,000,000 worth of timber and farm lands to underwrite a $70,000,000 railroad. But at least the rates were kept down, and people settled the Dakotas and Oregon. In Alaska, opposite policies have prevailed. The government-owned Alaska Railroad and the private Alaska Steamship Company have the highest rates in the world. High costs and high wages make it practically impossible for any Alaskan products to compete with similar products of other countries.

If war—God forbid—should ever sweep across the Arctic gables of the planet, Alaska will be more easily held if it is inhabited by half-a-million people than if it is a solitude. A country cannot be kept by forts alone. The Russians built log outposts in Alaska, put the Indians under the knout, and drained off the furs. Now only the rounded minarets of the old Greek Orthodox churches tell of their former sovereignty. The United States has the opportunity to build in Alaska a civilization which will far surpass the efforts of the power on the opposite shore of Bering Strait.

The Scope of Biological Warfare

BY LEONARD ENGEL

FROM the beginning of the debate on control of atomic energy, there has been a tendency to confuse the issue of control with the issue of peace. By this I mean that a great many people look on atomic control as a means of avoiding the horrors of a third world war. This is a fallacious approach. For a plan of control is essentially an instrument, and an instrument cannot supply what is not in the hearts of men. If men do not want peace, the plan is bound to fail. Only genuine friendship among the great powers can guarantee mankind against an atomic war. Moreover, a new war will bring other weapons which are fully as destructive as atomic bombs —and for which no mechanical control can be devised.

I refer to biological weapons. A few weeks ago, the *Journal of Immunology* published a long, hitherto secret report on bacterial warfare by Drs. Theodor Rosebury and Elvin A. Kabat of Columbia University. The report discusses no fewer than twenty-five diseases as potential agents of war. Yet it does not tell the story by half. For one thing, the Rosebury-Kabat paper deals mainly with the diseases of man. Livestock and crop diseases are given only passing mention, and crop poisons are entirely omitted. For another, the report was prepared in 1942. Since then, the largest biological laboratory in the world—operated by the army at Camp Detrick, Maryland —has been working without cease on biological weapons. So have other laboratories in the United States, Canada, and Great Britain, and, no doubt, in the U. S. S. R. Moreover, conservative research in biology and medicine opens up new biological-warfare possibilities every day.

Let me review briefly what BW (biological warfare) research is already known to have accomplished, and what further advances are promised for the future. We shall see then that there is no way out but peace.

BW obtains weapons from the whole of medicine and biology. It is, so to speak, medicine and biology stood on their heads. Thus, medicine studies disease epidemics for the purpose of minimizing their damage and halting their spread; the same data show the BW researcher how to make epidemics more virulent and widespread.

At the time Drs. Rosebury and Kabat prepared their report, systematic experiments in BW had not been conducted, so far as is known, anywhere in the world. But already, at least half a dozen of the possible disease weapons listed by the Columbia bacteriologists have been brought into practicable form. One is pneumonic plague, the invariably fatal air-borne form of bubonic plague. During the war, a small navy medical unit at the University of California developed an aerosol capable of disseminating a disease identified in the official announcement as "one of history's oldest killers"; the reference was almost certainly to the pneumonic plague.

LEONARD ENGEL, coauthor of "World Aflame," frequently contributes articles to The Nation *on the latest developments in science.*

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The disease agents developed by the army have not been disclosed. Some of them can be identified, however, through a careful reading of published reports on accidental infections at Camp Detrick and in other laboratories. These reports show that anthrax is readily usable as a projectile contaminant—to send even the lightly wounded to bed for protracted periods—and that some or all of the following can be spread by means of aerosol clouds: yellow fever, psittacosis, tularemia (rabbit fever), undulant fever, melioidosis (a rare fatal disease of the Malay Peninsula), and ricketsial infections such as typhus and Rocky Mountain spotted fever.

This is a revealing as well as a formidable list. It indicates clearly the extent of the BW experimenter's resources. A number of the diseases named occur very infrequently, and rare diseases are often superior weapons, for natural immunity to them is likely to be low.

Also well adapted to BW are diseases which are usually confined to particular sections of the globe. Yellow fever, for instance, is normally found only in tropical areas with a high concentration of *Aedes aegypti* mosquitoes. In those regions, a large fraction of the population has acquired immunity. But "yellow jack" can be employed elsewhere with devastating results.

In order to introduce yellow fever into temperate zones, it is necessary to change its mode of transmission, for *Aedes aegypti* become numerous enough to serve as the carrier only under certain limited climatic and environmental conditions. However, the yellow-fever virus is easily cultivated in the laboratory. And cultured "yellow jack" can be spread through the air.

That brings us to an important point. An inexhaustible supply of dangerous biological weapons is provided by the comparatively simple procedure of disseminating old diseases in new ways. On the list of aerosol-spread infections above are three, besides yellow fever, which are not ordinarily air-borne and which in their natural form have little military value. Tularemia is generally contracted by handling infected animals; the ricketsial diseases are louse- and tick-borne; and undulant fever comes from infected milk. But all three can be transformed into readily spread, highly virulent air-borne diseases.

Though there are immunizing vaccines for plague, yellow fever, psittacosis, and typhus, they are not therefore eliminated as biological weapons. In the first place, BW is an insidious form of warfare, and an agent may not be identified until it is too late for vaccination counter-measures. Secondly, immunity can be overridden by an unusual mode of infection, a massive dose of infectious material, or an especially virulent microbe.

One of the principal activities of BW laboratories is the cultivation of super-virulent microbe strains. And it may soon be possible to create in the laboratory wholly new disease organisms of the most awesome power. In the last few years, virus chemists, paced by the Rockefeller Institute's brilliant Wendell M. Stanley, have come close to the secret of viruses, the most elemental of pathogenic organisms. Viruses have been shown to be particles of protein, and several of the chemical groupings in their structure have been identified. Out of this knowledge, ingenious biochemists may ultimately fashion artificial neutralizing anti-bodies to protect man against a wide range of maladies, from the common cold to polio and encephalitis. But the same knowledge may first be used in the construction of new and deadlier viruses.

So much for the diseases of man. In general, BW utilizes similar bacterial and virus weapons for attacking livestock and crops. Crops may also be destroyed through artificially disseminated fungus blights and plant-hormone crop poisons. I would like to say a word about the latter, which are by-products of one of the most useful developments in modern science.

At the moment of Japan's surrender, we were ready, had the war continued into 1946, to spray Japanese fields with a chemical agent that would have withered the enemy's rice crop just before harvest. The chemical that was to be used has never been identified, but there are many that could have done the job.

About twenty years ago, a group of Dutch botanists began a systematic study of the growth mechanism of plants. Growth, they found, involves a family of compounds known as plant hormones or auxins. Today, hundreds of auxins have been identified, and auxin research is under way on a large scale in every country with a sizable chemical industry, for auxins are not difficult to manufacture and they can be made to regulate plant growth in numberless astonishing and useful ways. The manufacture of one auxin, 2,4-D, which stimulates broad-leaved plants to overgrowth and death and so is a wonderful weed killer, is already a multi-million-dollar business. Another hormone, methyl alpha-naphthyl-acetate, keeps potatoes and other tubers from sprouting in storage. Still another, alpha-naphthyl-acetic acid, prevents premature dropping of fruit from trees. Yet another promises to do away with a laborious hand "debudding" operation now required in tobacco cultivation.

Most plant hormones can also be used to modify plant growth in disastrous ways. Vegetables as well as weeds, for example, are killed by 2,4-D, since both are broad-leaved plants. Any competent auxin chemist can, in fact, pick out in a few hours a combination of plant hormones capable of destroying almost any crop in any desired manner, whether by overgrowth, destruction of root system, or inhibition of fruiting.

It is consequently no exaggeration to say that a grim assortment of nightmarish horrors is at the disposal of tomorrow's warmakers. As a means of destruction, biological weapons are certainly comparable to the atom bomb. What makes matters worse is the fact that the only

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possible future great war—between the United States and Russia—will provide precisely the right geographic and political conditions for BW.

Owing to the danger of a backfire among one's own troops and people, it is best to employ BW against a distant enemy. We and the Russians are as widely separated, geographically speaking, as possible. We are likewise poles apart ideologically. A clash between our two nations would pit two distinctive social systems against each other. Historically, no holds are barred in such struggles. Every available arm is used, no matter how barbaric. The sole test of a weapon is its military efficiency; fear of retaliation rarely serves as a restraint. The struggle between the Allies and the Axis brought unrestricted submarine warfare, systematic extermination of conquered peoples, mass incendiary and high-explosive attacks against cities, rocket warfare, and the atom bomb—an unprecedented collection of horrors.

A new war would see even fewer humanitarian restraints than the last. And there might well be early employment of BW by both sides. For as I said at the beginning of this article, there is no mechanical control scheme that can limit advance preparations by any nation. The raw materials of BW—disease germs and the like—are at hand in every country. The required equipment is simple and is to be found in any brewery. And the necessary techniques, which are as well known to Soviet as to American scientists, spring out of essential everyday activities in biology, medicine, and chemistry. Indeed, a biological arms race may already have started; BW research is still going on, at any rate, in the United States, Canada, and Great Britain under an agreement signed during the war. Nothing can halt such a race, nothing can secure man against the threat of biological war except peace and friendship among nations, especially the two that dominate the world today.

Our Record in Japan

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

AMERICANS returning from Japan have given very different appraisals of our occupation program. Some few have lent unqualified support to the widely held opinion in this country that "MacArthur is doing a good job." Others have been severely critical. But even the critics will admit that, though the situation is complex, surprising progress has been made toward the goals set forth in the Potsdam Declaration.

So far the occupation has been almost exclusively an American show. The Far Eastern Commission in Washington and the Allied Control Council in Tokyo have functioned chiefly as debating societies. Policy has been formulated by the State, Navy, and War departments in Washington. It has been administered by MacArthur and his staff. Because it has been a single-nation affair, the occupation has been far more efficient in Japan than in Germany. But its exclusively American character has also led to many blunders: Americans are ill equipped to understand Japanese psychology and Japanese institutions; too often, the making over of Japanese institutions along American lines has been interpreted as a "success."

As one tries to assemble unbiased and detailed information on occupation policy from individuals who have served under MacArthur, one is immediately struck by the contradictions in the evidence. It appears, for example, that although the new Japanese constitution is one of the most enlightened and democratic in the world, the new Japanese government is the organic successor to the old, and power is in practically the same hands as before. Excellent plans for the elimination of the Zaibatsu exist on paper, but the great monopolies still wield tremendous power behind the scenes, virtually dominating the Yoshida government. The Japanese government has been forced to cancel all laws limiting freedom of speech, thought, or assembly, and union organization has been encouraged; yet Philip Murray's New Year's message to the Japanese workers was censored to exclude every reference to democracy. Preliminary steps have been taken to remove part of Japanese industry as reparations; simultaneously, the United States has granted credits for the restoration of important sectors of industry. The failure to deal adequately with Japan's economic crisis threatens such success as has been achieved in the political sphere.

Some of these contradictions are the result of the same dualism that is found in American policy toward other countries. The original policy directives, drawn with a view to stamping out militarism, were essentially democratic. But the threat of rising communism, though largely illusory, has led the American military authorities to take a number of undemocratic steps and to seek the cooperation of forces which they set out to destroy.

MAXWELL S. STEWART, a staff contributor of The Nation, *has written extensively on Far Eastern affairs.*

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Most of the shortcomings of the occupation, however, have grown out of the original American decision to work through the Japanese government. The decision to retain the emperor and the Japanese governmental apparatus was made, it will be recalled, despite the misgivings of the persons who had given the most study to the nature of Japanese society. Against their advice, it was decided that the United States did not have the trained personnel to administer Japan directly, and that use of the existing governmental structure would both cut the costs of the occupation substantially and contribute to the smoothness of its operation.

Unfortunately, it has also helped keep the Allies from attaining the primary objectives of the occupation. These objectives, as specified in the Potsdam Declaration and the basic directive of the State Department, might be summarized as (1) destruction of Japanese militarism, (2) removal of the bars to democracy, (3) creation of a stable peace-time economy, democratically organized and providing a wide distribution of income and of ownership of the means of production so as to prevent the resurgence of expansionist policies.

DEMILITARIZATION

The immediate tasks of demobilization and the repatriation of Japan's overseas troops and civilians were carried out smoothly and completely. But the larger aspects of demilitarization—the purge of militaristic elements from public life, the reorganization of the educational system, and the reorientation of Japanese thinking—have not been attacked with the expected vigor. The SCAP purge directive was sweeping. It ordered the Japanese government to eliminate from public life and from responsible positions in such private activities as the press, finance, and business, all war criminals and suspects, including professional military men and members of the former secret police, the war-time political fronts, and jingo-terroristic societies. But the Japanese government succeeded in mitigating the effects of the order by procrastination and lax enforcement. SCAP issued its first purge order on January 4, 1946. The Japanese Cabinet delayed even preliminary action until February 9, although a general election was imminent. Enforcement of the purge for many categories was put off until March 10, and not until November were purge lists issued covering local officials and leaders of the press, stage, screen, and radio.

Since some of the most important measures for the reformation of the Japanese government were initiated in the early months of 1946, the delay permitted many officials of the old regime to play a large role in the reconstruction of Japan. The Cabinet which was expected to carry out the purge directive, for example, contained four ministers who were subsequently barred from office. Many of the men affected by the terms of the purge were allowed to retire voluntarily, a concession which protected their rights to pensions, benefits, and honors and made it easier for them to return to public life at a later date. Numerous other violations of the spirit and letter of the purge directive have occurred, and the occupation authorities, bearing no administrative authority, have been unable to do more than intervene in a few of the more flagrant cases, such as that of Icharo Hatoyama, president of the Liberal Party, who would have become Prime Minister if SCAP had not acted.

Definite progress can be reported in the task of reshaping the Japanese educational system along democratic lines. Textbooks have been rewritten to eliminate the nationalistic myths of Japanese history. Some nationalistic teachers have been purged, particularly from the higher posts. Training in judo, fencing, and bayonet drill has been abolished, but the children continue to march to and from school in military uniforms. There is evidence that independent thinking is being encouraged, even in the lower grades, by means of group discussion. But few new teachers have been trained, and the older ones complain that they cannot very well teach democracy when they have no opportunity to learn what it is or how it works. In education, more than in any other field, reforms cannot be imposed from outside. Encouragement must be given to the development of progressive teacher groups who can take over when the armies of occupation pull out. This development has scarcely begun.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Similar shortcomings may be noted in the political field. The new constitution is generally regarded as effectively laying the basis on which a Japanese democracy could be built. MacArthur himself is largely responsible for the prevalence of this idea, having called it "one of the great spiritual reformations of mankind." As a statement of democratic principles, it is, indeed, a remarkable document. The trouble is that it is essentially an American document. In an effort to by-pass the Four-Power Control Council, with its Soviet delegate, it was prepared in a few weeks by members of MacArthur's staff. The Japanese government not only had no hand in the final draft but was forced to accept it abruptly without discussion.

Perhaps the most praiseworthy feature of the new constitution is its guaranties of civil rights. No fewer than thirty-one articles are concerned with the "rights and duties" of the people as free citizens in a free state. Article 19 declares, for example, that "freedom of thought and conscience shall be held inviolable." Article 21 guarantees "freedom of assembly, association, speech, and press." Encouraged by SCAP directives insisting on these basic freedoms, the Japanese people were quick to take advantage of their new opportunities. Demon-

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strations were held; new magazines and newspapers were started, reflecting various political views.

This early spontaneous exercise of the basic freedoms which we brought to Japan did not last long. Although SCAP refused to permit the Japanese government to exercise censorship, it installed a censorship of its own. It has also used its control of the allocation of newsprint to assist the older conservative papers at the expense of the radical papers which mushroomed into existence in the early days of the occupation. Undoubtedly, the Japanese people have a great deal more freedom than they ever had before. Much criticism of the government still appears in the press. However, the Communist bogy has caused SCAP to overlook certain violations of the bill of rights by the Japanese police, even to the use of force in breaking up strikes and popular demonstrations. Thus the Japanese can hardly be blamed if they feel that our interest in the protection of civil rights is often merely a pretext for encouraging the spread of American rather than Soviet ideas.

LABOR AND MONOPOLY

Yet, surprisingly enough, it is in the field of labor relations that the greatest progress has been made in laying the basis for a functioning democracy. Labor advisers on MacArthur's staff have acted on the assumption that the working class constitutes potentially the strongest support for a democratic regime in Japan. The upper class is thoroughly militaristic and reactionary; the middle class is weak; the farm population, although harshly exploited, is traditionally conservative and indifferent to politics. Under the encouragement of the occupation authorities, membership in Japanese labor unions has risen from less than half a million to approximately four and a half million. Most of the new unions have sprung up spontaneously in individual plants. American influence has been generally constructive, though efforts have been made to force the labor movement into channels that conform to American experience. Public demonstrations have been checked; collective bargaining has been encouraged; political activity on the part of labor has been held to a minimum even though labor's political power is badly needed to offset the dominant reactionary influences in the government.

Parallel with the strengthening of labor have been the efforts of the occupation to destroy or limit drastically the power of the great pre-war and war-time industrial and financial tycoons, the Zaibatsu. On paper, the steps taken seem impressive. Five of the largest of the Zaibatsu groups have been forced to dissolve. The former leadership has been purged. The assets of the wealthiest families have been converted into ten-year non-negotiable bonds, and a progressive income-tax program to reduce the wealth and power of individuals in these great family trusts is projected. Not all these measures, however, have actually been carried out. The absence of a strong middle class makes it difficult to find purchasers for the assets taken from the wealthy families. In the absence of government ownership, which has been rejected by SCAP as socialistic, no one seems to know how the Zaibatsu's property can be widely redistributed.

Such success as SCAP has had in instituting democratic reform has been seriously endangered by its incapacity to deal with the grave economic problems facing post-war Japan. As in Germany, these problems are complicated by the fact that a revival of industry carries the threat of restoring military potential. Because of the divergence of views, reparations policy has not yet taken final form. This delay, in turn, has delayed presentation of a basic program of economic reconstruction. Another obstacle has been the Japanese government's failure to cope with the inflation. The rapid and uncontrolled rise in prices has been due largely to the government's attempt to meet the high costs of the occupation by printing money—possibly with the aim of discrediting the occupation. Last year the government incurred a deficit of 75 billion yen—considerably more than the costs of the occupation. Currency in circulation has jumped from 8 billion yen to 122 billion within twelve months.

FAILURE TO COMBAT INFLATION

The defects in the administrative structure and general operations of SCAP are forcefully demonstrated by its failure to combat rising prices. SCAP is specifically exempt from the responsibility of strengthening the Japanese economy. But it is clear that without a strong economy the whole program of democratization is doomed to failure. In April, 1946, some of the lesser experts in several SCAP divisions began to be concerned about the grave economic maladjustments resulting from the inflation, but before pressure could be brought to bear on the Japanese government to set up an adequate system of industrial allocations and price controls, agreement had to be reached within SCAP itself. To this end, a program of education had to be carried on in the various divisions, up to and including the General Staff. MacArthur himself had to be convinced of the necessity of action. So much time was consumed that the economic control board was not established until August, 1946.

At first, a political hack was placed in charge, and despite continued demands from the lower levels of SCAP, no real effort was made to established a system of controls until late May and June, 1947, when the Katayma Cabinet took power. By that time, it was generally agreed that it was too late to check inflation by a system of industrial controls alone. The anti-inflation program announced by the Cabinet in early July was essentially a retreat. Only a basic reconstruction of the

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Japanese economy, with adequate taxation and a restoration of export trade, would succeed today in checking the inflationary spiral. This would require substantial American financial assistance, which would mean reversing our original policy. Whether or not such assistance is ultimately given will not depend primarily on Japan's needs. It is more likely to depend on an appraisal of Japan's potential importance as an advanced industrial base in an American-Soviet war.

Thus we are confronted with the supreme paradox of our occupation policies. The democratic objectives of the occupation can be achieved only if the Japanese economy is restored, and the necessary American financial aid is likely to be forthcoming only as a means of building up Japan as a bulwark against Russia. But if Japan is to be developed as an anti-Communist outpost, the occupation authorities must seek support, not from labor and other democratic elements, but from the reactionary military groups that they at first wished to destroy.

Although the effect of this paradox is clearly discernible in our occupation policies, the record to date is not on the whole a bad one. For the most part, the original goals of the occupation have been kept in sight. Despite many blunders, substantial progress has been made in most areas. However, the task of displacing the firmly intrenched way of life of old Japan is a gigantic one and has scarcely been begun. There is much to be said at this stage for placing this responsibility on the United Nations, for as long as the United States has, in effect, full power, our policies will inevitably reflect American imperialist interests. General MacArthur has expressed a desire to turn over the administration of the occupation to the U. N. If this is done before the American nationalistic impact becomes too pronounced, the high esteem in which MacArthur is held, both in this country and in Japan, may be confirmed by history. But most thoughtful observers will suspend judgement until it becomes apparent whether the seeds of democracy which have been sown are to be permitted to mature.

Coal's Inflationary Balloon

BY OSGOOD NICHOLS

JOHN L. LEWIS once said, "He who tooteth not his own horn, the same shall not be tooted." This year he was joined by a whole orchestra of mine operators, who were only too happy to accompany his inflationary solo about his theoretical 44½-cent hourly boost in the new coal contract in the belief that the louder the noise the more the audience would be willing to pay.

Last week the noise proved too much for President Truman. He pleaded with the coal and steel industries not to believe their own propaganda and hike up the consumer's bill out of all proportion to their increased costs. He also tried to explain to the public how badly the miners and operators had misrepresented their new contract. Unfortunately, he does not appear to have been too successful in either of these well-meaning ventures.

Once the miner's chieftain and the operators had settled the terms of their new agreement, conflict vanished, and they joined in a campaign to bamboozle the average citizen. Each had something to gain by making the boost seem as extravagant as possible. Mr. Lewis likes to make the rest of the labor movement jealous of the armloads of bacon he brings home to his men and is not averse to putting phony labels on empty packages. The operators are not unduly shy about making a pretty profit out of a wage increase. Let us open some of these packages and see what they contain.

A little arithmetic shows how a 15-cents-an hour boost in the miner's pay became 44½ cents in the headlines. The miner will take home only $1.20 more a day, which, as President Truman pointed out, is in line with the wage increases that have been won in other basic industries. In addition to this he will get several benefits, none of which, however, appear in his pay envelope. He will work an hour less a day, his work week being reduced to the forty hours set for other workers last year. The company's contribution to his welfare and retirement fund will be boosted 5 cents a ton, or about 30 cents a day. On paper he will now also have thirty minutes for lunch, instead of the theoretically inhuman fifteen. The miner, however, has never eaten by the clock and will not do so now. He takes his lunch deep into the mine with him and nibbles at it whenever work is slack. He gets overheated digging coal and doesn't like long periods of damp, chilly idleness.

To make all this look expensive, the U. M. W. and the operators translated it into a *straight-time hourly rate* which has only theoretical relation to what is in the miners' pay envelopes. Under their old contract, the miners worked nine hours but were paid for the equivalent of ten, since overtime rates began after the seventh

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hour. Their basic daily wage of $11.85 divided by 10 gave them an hourly rate of $1.18½. The miners will now work eight hours for $13.05. To get their new rate, one should divide $13.05 by 8½ (since the eighth hour would customarily be at time and a half), which gives $1.53½, or an increase of 35 cents an hour.

The U. M. W. and the operators, however, discovered they could make 35 cents look like 44½ cents without spending a penny. This magic was accomplished by agreeing to begin overtime rates after the eighth instead of the seventh hour in the new contract. By this simple device, they could now divide $13.05 by 8 instead of 8½ and publicize a rate of $1.63 an hour, or an increase of 44½ cents. No money changes hands in this mathematical shell game; yet the miners' theoretical hourly pay becomes higher. They cannot buy groceries with the addition, since they will take home only 15 cents more an hour in their pay envelopes, but it looks good on paper.

Now we come to the more important question of how much the new contract increases the cost of mining coal. The operator will pay the miner $1.20 more a day for one hour's less work. The amount this is going to cost him per ton depends on how much coal the miner produces in the shorter day. He averaged 5.90 tons per day in 1946, and his productivity over the previous decade increased at the rate of .13 tons a year. It is safe to conclude, therefore, that he was producing at the rate of 6 tons a day during the last months of the Krug-Lewis agreement. At the rate of $11.85 a day, this comes to $1.97½ a ton.

How many tons will he produce in the shorter day? Nine hours underground is too long for efficiency, and some operators privately say they expect their men to dig as much coal in eight hours. Conservative government economists estimate that the operators will get an average of 94 per cent of previous production, instead of the 89 per cent they would get if output was decreased in the same proportion as hours. Other factors besides lessening of fatigue go into this estimate, such as increased mechanization and an expected sharp drop in absenteeism.

Using this estimate, we get an average output per miner of 5.64 tons a day, for which he will be paid $13.05. This comes to $2.31 a ton, or an increase in cost of 33½ cents a ton. To this must be added the 5 cents per ton for the welfare fund, making a conservatively estimated total of 38½ cents.

The day after President Truman asked the coal and steel industries to wait and see how much their costs would increase before boosting their prices, George Humphrey, who with Benjamin Fairless of United States Steel made the original bargain with Lewis, announced that he had raised his prices an average of 75 cents a ton. If Mr. Humphrey were merely an average producer in the industry, this would represent a profit of something like 100 per cent on the wage increase. But Mr. Humphrey, as chairman of the board of Pittsburgh-Consolidation, the largest commercial coal company in the world, is one of the lowest-cost producers in the industry. It is anyone's guess what a price his stockholders are extracting for peace in coal. He justifies the increase in part by saying he must make the price umbrella big enough to cover the costs of his less efficient competitors. The role of Good Samaritan seems quite profitable.

What about steel prices? No one seems to know accurately how much coal it takes to make a ton of steel. Government figures show that it takes 2,656 pounds of coal, or about 1⅓ tons, to produce the coke needed for a ton of pig iron. In the process of making the coke, however, the steel companies get a lot of valuable by-products. This is probably more than offset by the coal they use around the mill for purposes other than making coke. A ton and a half of coal per ton of finished steel would seem to be a good workable guess.

United States Steel, which holds the price umbrella for its industry, gets its coal, as do most of its competitors, from its own coal mines. It will not be called upon, therefore, to pay for Mr. Humphrey's umbrella. Converting the increased cost of coal (38½ cents a ton) into steel costs, we get an increase of 57.8 cents a ton. The bill for United States Steel, of course, should be much lower than this because it has some of the most efficient mines in the country.

Barron's, the national business and financial weekly, predicts an increase in steel prices of $5 a ton. Last Tuesday, in Birmingham, Republic Steel and Sloss-Sheffield Steel and Iron announced that they had boosted their pig-iron prices $3.50 a ton. United States Steel is more cautious. On July 29 its Board of Directors will meet and issue their second quarterly report for 1947, which will probably show, despite the steel wage raise, that the corporation is getting along handsomely. Indications are that it will make its decision about a price increase at that meeting.

Steel has one of its best peace-time markets in history, and by hiding behind the propaganda about the cost of the coal contract it could probably get away with a raise of $1 to $2 a ton, or a profit on the bargain of between 70 and over 200 per cent. This would start another round of price increases throughout the economy.

Perhaps the corporation, which has a great opportunity to make friends and influence, for the better, the course of coming events, will conclude that the health of the economy offers a better guaranty of United States Steel's future than short-term profiteering. If it follows the President's suggestion and waits to see how much its coal costs mount, the country will not only get peace in coal—which is no small contribution—but also may escape having to pay too exorbitant a price for it.

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Late Summer in the Parks

BY HORACE SUTTON

ONE of the cheapest but one of the most richly rewarding vacations available this summer is a visit to a national park. This flat statement will be enthusiastically supported, I know, by the 22,000,000 people who made the trek to one of the parks last year. In fact, the National Park Service expects an even larger number of visitors this year in the 170 areas under its supervision. Of these, twenty-seven are National Parks; the others are historical sites and monuments.

Most of the big wild parks are in the West, far from populous regions. The only ones in the East are Acadia in Maine, Shenandoah in Virginia, and the Great Smokies in Tennessee and North Carolina.

To most Americans, the thought of a visit to a national park conjures up a picture of Old Faithful, the fabulous geyser at Yellowstone Park. Old Faithful still spouts off faithfully every seventy minutes, the interval growing longer as the years pass. A thousand lesser geysers, weirdly beautiful hot springs, and an inspiring canyon are also to be seen in Yellowstone, oldest and largest of the national parks.

Established by Congress in 1872 "as a pleasuring ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people," Yellowstone's huge tract covers the northwest corner of Wyoming, and runs over into Idaho and Montana. Bear, elk, moose, deer, and buffalo roam its wild uplands. But there is no hunting. Visitors, however, may fish without a license, ride the trails, set up their tents in the camping grounds, or live comfortably in hotels and lodges. They are urged not to feed the bears, which the attendants say have only become a problem since they have been fed civilization's candy bars, crackerjacks, and picnic leftovers.

The park is open for motorists from May 1 to October 15, and for travelers coming by rail from June 20 to September 11, when the hotels close. Rates at Yellowstone are as low as $5.50 a day for a double room without bath, European plan. Furnished cottages at the Mammoth Springs Hotel at the north entrance cost $4 to $5 a day without food. Lodge accommodations on the American plan can be had for $10 a day for two. Coffee shops serve moderate-priced meals—breakfasts from 30 cents and dinners for $1.25. The hotel will fry your fish at the rate of three for a quarter, four to six for 50 cents. If you eat a dollar's worth of trimmings, it will fry the fish for free. Hardy souls can rent a hundred oddments of camping equipment, from a stew pan for a nickel a day to a blanket for 25 cents a night. Split wood is a quarter a bundle. Drivers can be hired for $7 a day; mountain guides and cooks at similar rates. A typical two-and-a-half-day bus tour, including eight meals and two nights' lodging, costs $42.50.

Yosemite National Park is 150 miles east of San Francisco and an easy drive from most points on the coast. It has been somewhat commercialized because it is so accessible, but it offers the striking natural beauty of the Yosemite Valley, a mile wide and eight miles long, and the spectacle of one of the highest free-leaping waterfalls in the world. The stream drops 1,430 feet, which, someone has taken the trouble to figure, is equal to nine Niagara Falls one on top of the other.

Used by the navy as a rest center until this year, Yosemite is again open to the public all the year round. A typical hotel is the Awahnee, on the north side of the valley, which houses 200 guests. It charges $14 a day for a double room and bath, with meals. Yosemite Lodge, a colony of redwood cabins which have baths and electricity, charges $3.50 a day per person. There are also some 700 tents for rent from June through August at $2 a day. Meals for tent dwellers run about $1. Tubs and showers in detached buildings can be enjoyed for a nominal fee. You can ride the floor of Yosemite Valley on a saddle horse for $5 a day. Saddle and pack animals, guides, cooks, and equipment can be hired for camping trips in the High Sierras.

Great Smoky Mountains National Park, midway between Knoxville and Ashville, lately has drawn the largest attendance of any of the government reservations. In general, the Western parks offer better accommodations, the Eastern ones being nearer to big cities, where motorists can stay. The main hotel center for the Smokies is Gatlinburg, Tennessee, on the north side of the park, where varying comforts at varying rates can be obtained.

The adjacent development of the TVA program has had a beneficial effect on the recreational facilities of the Great Smoky Park. Construction of the magnificent Fontana Dam created Fontana Lake, which stretches along nearly half the southern border of the reservation. The TVA also cooperated in the relocation of several roads important to the park.

Experience gained in the Western parks is helping the National Park Service to steer clear of commercialization in the Smokies, one of its newest ventures. It is trying to preserve the traditional culture of the Appalachians and the crafts of the mountain whites or hillbillies. Old smokehouses, corn cribs, and log cabins are being restored. Visitors can see Cherokee Indians, find some 1,200 species of flowering plants, view 200,000 acres of virgin forest, and, what is not unimportant, keep cool.

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Del Vayo—Dilemma of the Left

DURING two weeks we have heard certain liberal voices, in various accents, denounce Stalin and the Russians for having split the world in two. For those who, since the end of the war and even before, have been maintaining that no possibility existed of getting along with Russia, Paris was the pay-off. Molotov's retreat to Moscow provided a final answer to the partisans of collaboration. As one of the more acute French commentators pointed out, this is a case in which *tant pis* should read *tant mieux*. The New York *Times* gave substance to this view by writing on July 6: "Had Russia elected to participate in the scheme it might have been difficult if not impossible for President Truman and Secretary Marshall to convince Congress that American funds were being invested wisely and in the national interest of the United States." (How ironical if, even with Russia out, Congress should refuse the funds!)

Well, let us assume the record is clear and final: the blame rests on Moscow. For those liberals referred to above, plus most conservatives, the problem ends there. But the left —and here I am not referring to the Communists, whose position is also fixed on other grounds—cannot simply quit at this point and go to sleep. The first thing the left must do is to analyze coolly in which kind of half-world it is going to move from now on. And, next, it must inquire whether a way can be found to put an end to this insane period of war without war.

The half of the world that now carries the label "Western bloc" is certainly not a region in which a genuine liberal or radical can—until the moment of shooting arrives—enjoy a pleasant holiday. That this is so is mainly the fault of the men in the State Department and the Foreign Office who shape the real policy of the Western bloc. With a little more imagination they could have made the political climate of the new Allied coalition more tolerable for those who, under the old one, fought for democracy. If they foresaw that one day the division now taking place was going to be unavoidable, they had no excuse, for example, for not finding a democratic solution for Greece and Spain.

All the stories about "international brigades" and a "red invasion" will not succeed in overshadowing the situation in Greece, which has become, not only for leftists but for ordinary decent persons, unbearable. In a cable from Athens the other day, Richard Mowrer summed it up in a few lines:

> With the arrival in Athens of Dwight P. Griswold, United States administrator of aid to Greece, Washington embarks on a policy aimed at containing Communist pressure. That policy is being sabotaged even before it starts. The excesses of the rightist Greek government in arresting and deporting, without warrants or trial, Socialists, Liberals, and Democrats (as well as Communists) is making new converts for the Communist-dominated rebels now fighting in the mountains. For many Greeks, it is not a question of political preference but of choosing between the risk of arrest and deportation by a regime many of whose top officials collaborated with the Germans or of escaping to the insurgent-held mountains.

On Spain the Western bloc is going to find itself in September, at the General Assembly of the United Nations, in a nasty fix. The Spanish issue is going to come up and under greatly aggravated conditions. To begin with, the third great partner, France, will be found wholly out of agreement with the Anglo-American policy toward Franco. There is no possibility of normalizing relations between France and Spain while Franco is in power; this, even if no fighting breaks out in Spain. If an uprising should occur, as Lord Templewood has been steadily predicting, the tension within the Western bloc will become acute.

Greece and Spain may be the most sensitive and exposed nerves in the Western coalition, but they are not the only ones. Germany is a more serious element of disunity. Regarding Germany, there is the old division between the British, who underline the economic aspect of the problem, and the French, for whom security is the first consideration. There is the difference between the British Laborites, who remain faithful to the theory that only Socialist planning can resolve the problem of Germany, and the Americans, who favor free enterprise tempered with a minimum of security control. As the London *Economist* said in its issue of July 12, "an American plan to base European revival upon a German heavy industry built up as a cartel by private capital might well bring the Communist Party to power in France and in the Ruhr." The demand of the German parties for a full share in the Paris conference fortified the impression that in the new division of Europe Germany was going to be the chief beneficiary. However, if traditional American policy prevails, the actual German beneficiaries will not be the Ruhr miners but the industrial barons and the new—or old—Nazis.

And this leads to the essential point for the left: The leadership of the Western bloc is bound to tend more and more to the right, and current uncomfortable situations, as in the cases of Greece, Spain, and Germany, will multiply. On the other side, the Russians are not going to remain idle. They will exploit to the full all the political differences and contradictions of the Western bloc, at the same time building up in the East agrarian reform, nationalization, Socialist planning, and a broad program of trade and customs cooperation. The position of the Western left will become more and more difficult.

But there is a way out: an end to the situation that ought to have been the beginning. That way is through the United Nations. It has been the fault of all—East as well as West, left as well as right—to have reduced the United Nations in two years to a sort of wrangling Forum of the Air, instead of an instrument of peace. But it is the only place, outside the field of battle, where East and West can still meet.

[*In a second article Mr. del Vayo will discuss the relationship of the U. N. to the Marshall plan.*]

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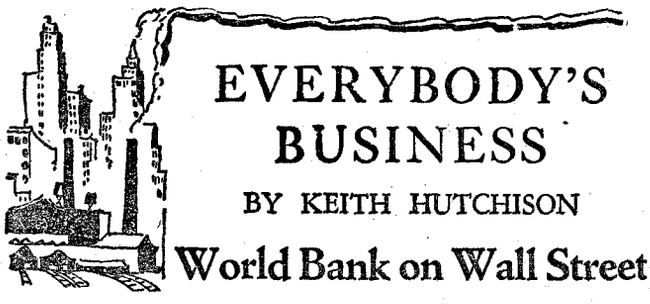

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

World Bank on Wall Street

THE first bond offering of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development proved a smash hit in Wall Street. Although the issue was a large one—$250,000,000—the demand was still larger, and investment houses were allotted only a fraction of the amounts called for by customers' orders. When dealings started on the Stock Exchange, bidding was lively for both the ten-year and twenty-five-year bonds, which opened at premiums of two and over three points respectively.

In setting up the issue, the bank's management took great pains to enlist the interest of security houses throughout the country. They put on a big publicity and educational campaign and, what is more important, offered commissions of ½ per cent—$5 per $1,000 bond—on the twenty-five-year issue and ¼ per cent on the ten-year issue. In recent corporate bond underwritings, commissions of ⅛ per cent have been normal. In addition, the securities themselves were priced very attractively. The twenty-five-year bonds, which make up $150,000,000 of the total, carry a 3 per cent coupon, and the $100,000,000 of the shorter-term issue pay 2¼ per cent. Both issues were offered at par. Such yields are well above the returns currently obtainable from first-class industrial bonds. So it is not surprising that insurance companies, savings banks, and other institutional investors, which do not always find it easy to secure suitable homes for their vast funds, were among the eager buyers of the new securities.

Since such investors must give safety precedence over yield, their willingness to buy World Bank bonds shows that they regard these issues as well protected. And so, indeed, they are, provided we can keep the world from an economic tailspin. In the first place, the total lending power of the bank is limited to the total of its subscribed capital and accumulated surplus. Subscribed capital currently amounts to just over $8,000,000,000, of which one-fifth has been paid up, 2 per cent in gold or United States dollars and the balance in the currencies of the forty-four member nations. All or part of the remainder of the capital may be called up if required to meet the bank's liabilities. Of course, the obligation of members to meet such capital calls or to repay loans made to them depends on the "faith and credit" of sovereign states and is therefore not legally enforceable. On the other hand, as the bond prospectus points out, each member government has "a direct interest in the performance by every other member government of its obligations to the bank." In addition, while the credit rating of some of the members is none too good, that of the nations subscribing more than two-thirds of the capital has never been questioned. The United States share alone is 34.23 per cent.

The reception given to the bond issue might seem to suggest that in fixing its terms the bank's managers were over-generous. But I do not think they can be criticized on this account. They were, it must be remembered, putting on the market a new and strange security and appealing for support to a notoriously conservative body of investors. In a deal of this sort, the margin between success and failure is often a narrow one, and they could not afford failure. On the contrary, they needed a resounding success to put the World Bank on the Wall Street map and smooth the way for future issues.

We may therefore congratulate the president of the bank, J. J. McCloy, and the group of banking executives he has recruited on a striking achievement. But we must ask them not to rest on their laurels. Now that they have proved their ability to augment their limited supply of dollars by raising capital in the American market, it is to be hoped they will put their dollars to work rather more rapidly than hitherto. In the year since the bank opened its doors, it has made only one loan, $250,000,000 to France, which had asked for, and needed, twice that amount. Many other member nations have put in requests for various amounts totaling more than $2,000,000,000. Some of these may be granted in the near future, but the bank is proceeding with the utmost caution.

In deciding which member countries are credit-worthy and which projects they put forward have a reasonable chance of being self-liquidating, the bank's managers face a difficult dilemma. They are only permitted to lend money when adequate private finance is not available: that rules out the best risks. On the other hand, they must operate in accordance with sound financial practice and thus deny assistance to many of the countries most in need of it. Moreover, the more the bank looks to American investors for lendable funds the more conservative it is likely to be. As Sylvia Porter, financial editor of the New York *Post*, said a few weeks ago, when predicting a good reception for the bond issue, "It's just because the World Bank isn't what it was supposed to be, that the issue will be such a success. It's just because its loan policy is now on the 'sound-business,' 'calculated-risks' basis that our giant investors are warming up."

However, "safety first" can prove a dangerous maxim in today's weakened economic world. It is no use deciding to sit only on the most solid chairs when the foundations of the house are cracking. With all Europe threatened with economic collapse, the distinction between countries which are good risks and those which are bad becomes academic. Unless steps are soon taken to underpin the whole structure, bankruptcy and revolution may be the Continent's common lot. As receiver, Mr. J. Stalin probably would not give much consideration to the World Bank's claims.

I am not suggesting that the World Bank could or should serve as Europe's *deus ex machina*. It has neither the resources nor the authority to undertake the kind of job envisaged by Secretary Marshall's proposals. But speedy action on some of the applications for reconstruction loans it has long been pondering would help to keep Europe breathing while broader plans are being ground through the slow mills of American democracy.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

A Man of Feeling

THE INNOCENT EYE. By Herbert Read. Henry Holt and Company. $3.50.

HERBERT READ has written poetry and critical prose. Following the advice of Coleridge, he tells us, he took "regular employment" in order to be a writer in his leisure hours. He is that phenomenon, more familiar in England than in this country, of the state functionary and man of letters in one. For many years he was an official in the British Treasury and for many years a curator of ceramics in the Victoria and Albert Museum. But he remained always, it is clear, primarily a man of letters, with a voracious interest in all the world's literature in all its genres. He remained throughout the littérateur who, partly as a result of his work in the museum, came to be a writer and to be known most widely as an effective critic of art and the arts. But it is clear from these pages that he had ambitions to be a novelist, though his novels have remained projects, and that his heart is with poetry, though his published poems have not been the chief source of his influence or reputation.

What we have here, then, is the intellectual autobiography, almost too intellectual for one who proclaims himself a romantic and a man of feeling. It is the story of the sources of his being of one for whom art is the center and actuality of life, and poetry the center and actuality of art. His book is largely the account of the steps in the development of a man who has such feelings and has come to such conclusions. It is the narrative of the innocent eye, innocent in the childhood before experience, simple again in the ardent discipline of achieved aesthetic insight.

There are several grounds on which this book, of uneven distinction, has claims to critical attention. Mr. Read is in the first place in some way an index to a period. In the twenties he was a close literary associate of a group which included the Sitwells, Siegfried Sassoon, T. S. Eliot, Ford Madox Ford, Richard Aldington. While he was still at the front in France during World War I, he was one of the anonymous editors of *Arts and Letters,* which might be described as a sort of predecessor of *Horizon.* It conveys vividly the climate of literary feeling in the England of twenty-five to thirty years ago.

Secondly, Mr. Read's autobiography has a special sociological claim to interest. Mr. Read's background, for all his fastidious cultivation, is not the familiar one of the typical English aesthete. He did not come from a well-to-do family or go to Eton and Oxford. He has not the public-school manner, which even the rebellious aesthetes have so often had as their stamp. He was born and spent the first nine years of his life on a farm, in a remote corner of Yorkshire. The most evocative and most convincing part of his memoir is that dealing with the house and garden, the moors and woods, the cycle of the seasons, the growing of things, the killing of animals by men and by one another, the vividness of country scenes as these were touched and seen and felt by the uncorrupted awareness of a sensitive child. Mr. Read, indeed, attributes to this early vividness of his farm experience his later sophisticated sense of the importance of "immediacy and contact in art and life."

Herbert Read's father died when the boy was only nine years old, and from there on he had another kind of experience not familiar in the history of the modern literary intellectual in England. He spent two years at an orphanage school.

He worked for several years as clerk in a savings bank in Leeds. Himself so poor that he could not afford tram fare, he walked miles through the slums and came to know the life of the very poor. Against his family's cautious advice he managed somehow to get to the university, the University of Leeds, which with its random electives and its large courses seems more like an American provincial university than like the cliché conception of Oxford. He served in World War I as an officer, despite his pacifist sentiments, and his accounts of "The Raid," previously printed as a book in England, and of "Retreat" constitute minor classics of the felt truth about war experience.

Throughout, this is the case history of a non-snob English intellectual whose background is nearer that of Priestley or Arnold Bennett than of Cyril Connolly or Desmond MacCarthy, and it is marked by an earnest, almost plodding industriousness in reading. Mr. Read seems to have read everything of importance in modern literature in all languages, although, again atypical, he seems to be rather sketchy on the classics and to have little Latin and less Greek.

There is one other erraticism or rather scantiness of reading which accounts for some of the lack of clarity of the author's leading ideas, namely, in philosophy. He had an early infatuation with Nietzsche and seems to have had a late one with Kierkegaard. There is little evidence of Plato, none of Aristotle or of the good, solid British empiricists. Mr. Read obviously sets great store by a few of his chief intellectual themes, though he is not careful to define his terms. He declares he is a romantic and an idealist and depends on the vague aura of those words to tell us what he means. But if he is not quite rigorous, he is, as perhaps a "romantic" should be, suggestive. I use the term in both a praising and depreciative sense. Mr. Read makes suggestions and yet they are mere adumbrations, not very clear and if intelligible not consistent with each other. His last chapter is called—how English men of letters love relatively obscure classical images!—The Adamantine Sickle. The sickle is reason. It is the same sickle "which Earth gave Cronos and with which he mutilated the Divine Father." "Such a weapon is reason, which alone can slay despair and lead us to an Ethiopian rock. But as we wield this weapon, we find that it deals not only death but life, and that new beings, the furies and the muses of our inspiration, gather round the carnage." But our experience, says Mr. Read, is full of contradictions. It is the function of art to reconcile these and it cannot do that until it passes be-

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yond reason. "Only an art which rises above conscious reality, only a transcendent or super-real art is adequate."

I confess that at this point, which is at the close of the book, I am not sure I know what Mr. Read is talking about, or that he does. I am a little clearer when earlier he finds the creative act of art something that has some significance for the nature of ultimate reality itself, and I see some gleam of suggestion in his notion that there is perhaps more than analogy between the rhythms which make the patterns of art and the rhythms of life and of ultimate being. I can understand what Mr. Read means when he preaches as the goal of political life the life which is non-political, the nourishment of creative freedom. I can sympathize with him when he appeals to "living in accordance with nature," but not when he says, "The world I discover is contained within myself." I do not quite know, and have never known, what Mr. Read means by the "sense of glory," to which he appeals and which he somehow identifies with creation and freedom. Nor do I think he needs the term "anarchist" to describe the ideal of a society that would make freedom possible.

There is a curious admixture of references to Kierkegaard, surrealism, Bergson, Whitehead. Mr. Read promises in his closing paragraph to devote his "intellectual energy in the years that are left [to him]" to "elucidation" of what "super-real art" is. Meanwhile his book exhibits the virtues and limits of the not quite philosophical literary mind. Where he is most a man of letters, as when he is telling his own story, he is best. Mr. Read ought to be less—or considerably more—of a philosopher if he is going to plumb the great questions of the relations of art to morals and politics and metaphysics. As it is, he illustrates some of the more foggy qualities of what is generally suggested by the term "romantic," some of the baffling obscurities of the literary man out of his depth.

IRWIN EDMAN

The
Christian Significance of KARL MARX
By ALEXANDER MILLER
Written primarily for Christians who want to understand Communism—whether they accept Marxist theory or not—this book insists that Communism is a momentous fact which Christians are bound to take into account. So the author does not set up a straw man in order to knock him down. He exposes the reader to the full impact of Marxism and contemporary criticism of Marxism, and lets him make up his own mind. This stimulating and disturbing book presents a challenge to all serious Christians.
$1.75 at all bookstores
MACMILLAN

The "Middle Ground"

THE BALKANS, FRONTIER OF TWO WORLDS. By William B. King and Frank O'Brien. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

THIS book is the deposit of several years' reporting from various Balkan capitals by two correspondents for the Associated Press. The bulk of it summarizes the course of political events in Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Turkey, and Greece during the past five or six years. The authors add occasional snippets of background information—larded with some misinformation—sketch leading political personalities, and make various observations on the world significance of recent Balkan developments.

The theme of the book is the disappearance of the "middle ground" between Russia and the United States in the Balkans. Both Russia and the United States, according to the authors, uphold a philosophy of society and government which is thought to be "good for everybody, everywhere." In this they see the seeds for a sort of religious struggle, which might even lead to eventual war. Trying to assess responsibility, King and O'Brien hold Russia's insistence that only Communist governments can be friendly governments to be the principal factor in smashing the Socialist parties of the Balkans and thus destroying the "middle ground."

The book is markedly uneven in workmanship and detail. The chapters on Rumania are the most enlightening and coherent, and Yugoslavia is well treated. At the other extreme, three paragraphs suffice for Albania, and the chapter devoted to that country is padded out with only vaguely relevant material. Greece, too, is described without understanding, very largely in terms of the personal ups and downs of the royal family.

The style is sometimes vivid and natural; but in other passages it becomes irritating or even ludicrous with inept metaphors or flippant generalizations.

The nature of their work for a wire service required the authors to live almost exclusively in the various Balkan capitals within a few minutes' reach of the telegraph. In consequence provincial life largely escapes their attention. Consideration of economic conditions is also practically absent from the book, save for an account of Russian financial manipulations of Rumanian oil and other resources. This omission inevitably prevents the reader from obtaining a sound understanding of the political events described.

Such criticism is perhaps unfair, for the authors hardly pretend to present a complete and balanced picture of Balkan society and government. The book does provide a summary of recent events, neither more nor less reliable than the reports which appear daily in our newspapers. As such it serves as a useful recapitulation and can well be used to refresh memories jaded by the complexities of Balkan events.

WILLIAM H. MCNEILL

The Films of a Nation

FROM CALIGARI TO HITLER. A Psychological History of the German Film. By Siegfried Kracauer. Princeton University Press. $5.

THE thesis of this unusually interesting book is that the German films of the twenties were filled with premonitions of the German totalitarianism of the thirties: that Hitler arose as the resolution of psychological dilemmas which had been reflected in the German movies and which accounted for both their greatness and their decline. The films of the Weimar Republic, Dr. Kracauer argues, constitute a

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"unique *monologue intérieur*. They reveal developments in almost inaccessible layers of the German mind."

Dr. Kracauer illustrates his theme by a readable account of the evolution of the German film industry and of the creation of the masterpieces. He knows much of the story at first hand; and he has the advantage of direct testimony from other participants, particularly some fascinating material from Hans Janowitz on the background of "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari." "Caligari," of course, presented the terrible choice between tyranny and chaos in its most radical form; but this theme was almost obsessive with the film-makers of the classical period. Kracauer demonstrates convincingly its reappearance in "Dr. Mabuse," in "Waxworks," in "Nibelungen," in "The Last Laugh."

The period of slow decline after 1924 came about when inner conflict produced, not renewed questing, but stagnation and paralysis. Writers and directors sought to evade or to muffle the unanswerable questions. Gradually, in the last days of the republic, films displayed forebodings of totalitarianism, a subconscious dream becoming increasingly attractive as a substitute for the agonies of individual responsibility. Finally the fantasies which animated the films—and often contradicted their formal theses—came to full and bloody life, and Germany carried out what had been anticipated by its cinema from the beginning. "Self-appointed Caligaris hypnotized innumerable Cesares into murder. Raving Mabuses committed fantastic crimes with impunity, and mad Ivans devised unheard-of tortures."

The book's premise, of course, is that the films of a nation irresistibly disclose its dominant psychological dispositions. Films reflect the national mentality more directly, Dr. Kracauer would even argue, than any other form of artistic expression. They are collective products; hence the very process of creation tends to suppress individual peculiarities in favor of traits common to many people. Moreover, they must appeal to anonymous multitudes and so must conform to existing mass desires. Nor is the story content alone significant; the changes in technique, the nature of the imagery, the style of the editing are as revelatory as the metaphors and cadences of poetry.

This is an extraordinarily fruitful and stimulating approach. It is probably inevitable that a pioneering work like "From Caligari to Hitler" should have a number of overstatements and oversimplifications in applying the approach; but this should not deter anyone from reading the book. The main trouble, of course, is that Dr. Kracauer knows in advance which dreams panned out. Nazism provides him with convenient criteria for determining the "basic" film themes of the twenties; and one cannot avoid the impression that he is reading back from the actuality to the corresponding fantasy.

Thus, were the United States today under a fascist dictatorship, an acute Indonesian critic might point out how Hollywood's obsession with horror and violence revealed the inevitability of fascism: how the cult of the gangster foreshadowed the secret police, how the Boris Karloff films showed the frenzied flight from reason, how the psychiatric vogue disclosed the deep sickness in the American soul. Sunnier political developments, however, might reveal that Bing Crosby really embodied the "basic" American fantasy. Dr. Kracauer, in short, has oversystematized his interpretations and omitted the elements which should be fundamental in any psychological analysis—the element of ambiguity.

Still he has written a challenging book. And he has looked at the films themselves with a sensitive and discerning eye. Not the least part of the joy in reading "From Caligari to Hitler" lies in its evocation of vivid and happy memories long out of mind—the sardonic brilliance of "Die Dreigroschenoper," the tinkling charm of "Die Drei von der Tankstelle," the passionate good will of "Kameradschaft," the bitter sentimentality of "Der Blaue Engel," the neurotic intensities of "M." Sixty-four illustrations add substance to these memories.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

Streamlining Congress

A TWENTIETH-CENTURY CONGRESS. By Estes Kefauver and Jack Levin. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $3.

THE long-delayed Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 was only a promising beginning in the streamlining of a horse-and-buggy Congress. Representative Kefauver and Dr. Levin now present in a simple, readable, and comprehensive fashion the necessary next steps.

Their catalogue of overdue reforms is a long one—the strengthening of party responsibility, the installation of electric voting, the elimination of the filibuster, better liaison with and supervision of executive agencies, scrapping of the seniority rule in committee assignments, a regular question-answer period for Cabinet members, reducing

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—N. Y. TIMES BOOK REVIEW
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the petty tasks of both Congress and its members; there are other concrete suggestions.

Congress and Congressmen suffer from too much work and too little time. And yet the solutions are relatively easy of accomplishment. At least 15 per cent of the meeting time of the House is consumed by roll calls which average about forty minutes each. Electrical voting, now practiced in eleven states, will eliminate this unnecessary drain of Congressional time and simultaneously end teller votes which allow Congressmen to vote in anonymity. Only stubborn inertia stands in the way.

Another 10 per cent of the five-hour daily sessions is used up in the relatively trivial bills for the District of Columbia. Home rule for the District will allow Congress to function as a *national* legislature. Representative Kefauver does not explain, however, that one reason for the refusal to allow District suffrage is fear of the Negro voters (28 per cent of the District population).

The average Congressman is similarly overburdened—but with non-legislative tasks. Eighty per cent of his time is spent in running errands for his constituents, interceding with executive agencies on their behalf. He has thus become a Washington representative rather than a member of Congress. Yet, these duties are important not only to insure his reelection but because without such help our immense and complex government will become a bureaucracy, inaccessible to the citizen.

An administrative assistant at $8,000 a year has recently been provided for each Senator, but the House has hesitated to authorize similar aides because of a fear of misunderstanding by voters back home. When the House, however, selects its employees by a merit system, no one will begrudge the added expense.

Congress suffers from an inferiority complex in dealing with the sprawling executive branch, a neurosis which engenders suspicion, fear, and often hatred. The authors' remedy, however, of a fortnightly two-hour question-and-answer period, each session being devoted to one agency, would allow each department head less than two hours a year. The English practice of a daily period for written questions addressed to any government official is more flexible and promises more informative and lively sessions. Thus interpellations could be held from 10 a.m. to noon, before the regular session began, with attendance voluntary. A veritable manual of procedure for determining what are fair questions already exists in the House of Commons practice.

Space does not permit further discussion of the book's many other suggestions, which deserve the widest circulation and study.

The authors' program for legislative reform should be pushed by all those concerned with strengthening democratic processes in America. Congress cannot hope to function in an atomic age unless its creaking machinery is modernized.

WILL MASLOW

"Into the Sun"

CONSIDER THE LILIES OF THE FIELD. By Erico Verissimo. Translated by Samuel Putnam. The Macmillan Company. $3.

WITHIN the last few years two Latin American novels which won fame in their own countries have appeared in translation in the United States. The first was "Bay of Silence," by Edward Mallea of Argentina. The second is "Consider the Lilies," by Erico Verissimo of Brazil. Both were written before the war by men of a similar age who had spent their youthful years in Europe. Both deal with characters and problems in their respective homelands and show traces of European influence in their techniques. For North American readers the books shed light not only on the pre-war state of major fiction in the Southern capitals but on the differences of attitude in Argentina and Brazil.

Verissimo's novel, which was issued first in Porto Alegre in 1938 and has just been published here in a vigorous if uneven translation by Samuel Putnam, went through eight Portuguese editions in the first two years, and is said to have reached the 100,000 mark—a record in Brazilian publishing. It was translated almost immediately into Spanish, and its appearance in English is late. It is a love story with sociological overtones. Its hero is a bright boy named Eugenio Fontes, son of a poor tailor and a patient mother, who grows up under the pressure and shame of poverty. He escapes from both by marrying one of those frigid heiresses with intellectual pretensions who seem to hold great fascination for Latin novelists.

Eugenio holds a degree in medicine, but his clinic is supported by his wealthy father-in-law, and his practice is a fashionable pretense. His marriage is outwardly brilliant, inwardly a sham. He makes a friend's wife his mistress as a means of consolation, and his own wife finds sadistic satisfaction in psychoanalytic dabblings. (The emphasis on intellectual pyrotechnics is marked in both books.) Suddenly a wise and saintly teacher to whom the young doctor had made love when they were both in school—and by whom he had had a child—sends for him on her death bed. The revulsion against false values which her death creates in him turns him back to his profession of medicine as a way of life. He breaks with wife, wealth, and mistress and sets about redeeming his soul by hard work among poor patients. The last sentence in the book, robbed of its classic implications in the English translation, bows to Ibsen and Echegaray with father and daughter going out "into the sun."

Eduardo Mallea's novel, reviewed in 1944 when the English version, much cut, appeared here, was also a love story, but of a different type, outwardly more sophisticated, inwardly more confused. The tale moved from Buenos Aires to Paris, Brussels, London, and by means of the misty stream-of-consciousness technique explored the hero's political attitudes as well as his spiritual longings. Very little happened outside the hero's mind, and what happened inside was more important in process than in result. Some saw in the author's passionate yearning for Argentinian self-assertion an incipient fascism, but that, too, was far from clear. From the artistic point of view the style pattern, lost in translation, was a more important achievement than the plot or the creation of character.

The Brazilian novel is hopeful, practical, constructive, sentimental. The Argentinian novel was confused, full of passion and frustration on a national as well as a personal plane. Indeed, the two attitudes and viewpoints seemed to merge, and therein lay the potential

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country swamped with—for want of a better name—refugees.

ANNETTE V. MARSHALL

Otsego, Michigan, July 13

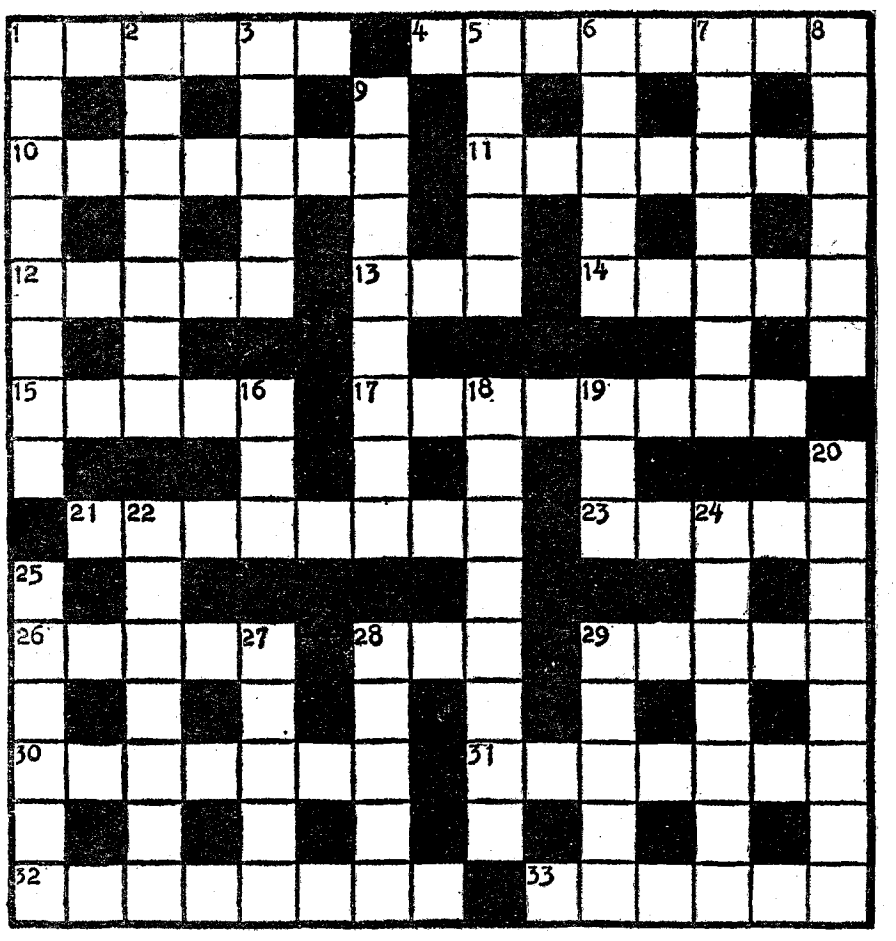
Saying It Better

Dear Sirs: J. M. Martinez of Miami reads an article in *The Nation* by Jacques Maritain and concludes that you are exhibiting "signs of decadence and senility." (Worse yet, he writes you to tell you so.) As I make him out, Mr. Martinez is unnerved by (a) the appearance of a Roman Catholic spokesman in your columns, and (b) the point of view that gives man's faith in God a very general precedence over man's faith in himself.

As to the first, it should be noted that M. Maritain is not only a Roman Catholic but also a theologian: the combination is as formidable, in a way, as that of the Marxist who has actually read Marx. Further, there are even more doctrinal extensions of Roman Catholicism than there are of Marxism—a fact somewhat obscured because Roman Catholics sustain only one Pope whereas Marxists sustain several, all infallible, all mutually exclusive, and all wielding truncheons of one sort or another. Aside from Spain and perhaps Argentina, Roman churchmen carry no truncheons so far as I know (I am not a Roman Catholic), figurative truncheons or any other kind. Yet it is quite as awkward an impropriety to lump them all together as it is to do likewise with Marxists. The comments one might apply to a Stalinist are not applicable to a Trotskyist; similarly, the comments one might apply to a Thomist are not applicable to an Augustinian.

And even as a Thomistic theologian M. Maritain is a very special case. He is admired by numerous Protestant theologians who admire no other Roman Catholic, he is admired by numerous Roman Catholics who admire no other rationalist, and he is admired by numerous rationalists who admire no other theologian. I daresay he is the best possible choice *The Nation's* editors could have made from the Roman Catholic phalanx. To align M. Maritain with the reactionary elements of Mother Church, as Mr. Martinez does, is to betray a somewhat primitive understanding of modern Christianity. For additional information Mr. Martinez is respectfully referred, among M. Maritain's published works, to "True Humanism" and "Religion in the Modern World."

It is easy enough to sympathize with



Crossword Puzzle No. 221

By MR. X.

ACROSS

1 Dimnet (the good abbé) can bow gracefully out of predicaments
4 It's detrimental to have led off with a stern pedant
10 Tea for two makes rhyme with reason
11 Cede tax was involved when forced to pay
12 GI is quick to get in a drink
13 French riposte
14 All the rail is on the track
15 Happening to die out at eventide
17 Conducted a systematic search for Dr. X. at the Pole
21 The el came in to vie for business when it was finished
23 'E returned to the fink, offering a cut
26 Trocadero performer rode out for an agent
28 I slip in short weight with acumen
29 Horse play on the beach
30 There's method in the madness of attics, see?
31 Lad rang with a rosy wreath
32 Seer returns about a veil and redresses
33 Make an entry in a paper

DOWN

1 A philosopher reacts so to questions
2 I turn in in a regular route
3 Spills the beans and pules
5 Wake up! It is later than you think
6 Good for bread and wine
7 Explosive message by night rate
8 There's something odd in a baby's walk
9 Team sped in a panic
16 Money is given at the end
18 Ascendancy can be achieved, e.g., with a stripe
19 Heart of the British Navy
20 Washington: The -------- of his country—the founder of liberty, the friend of man . . .
22 Anything of vision in the Capitol?
24 Make it a sole affair
25 Sailing ship in the stream
27 The good part of salaries after you earn your salt
28 Sweat to change your waist
29 Red hot poker

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 220

ACROSS:—1 STRAW HAT; 6 RASH; 10 DONGA; 11 LAC; 12 GLOVE; 13 CATLAP; 16 CUCKOO; 17 TRUMPET; 18 MOLE; 20 ABBE; 22 ISOLATE; 23 NAME; 24 ENVY; 25 DISTURB; 27 FLAVIA; 29 YONDER; 34 LIKER; 35 EVA; 36 NUTTY; 37 SWIM; 38 FLATTERY.

DOWN:—2 TENET; 3 ARARAT; 4 HULK; 5 TICK; 6 RAGOUT; 7 SHOCK; 8 ODIC; 9 RECOVERY; 14 PRUSSIA; 15 EMULATE; 16 CENTURY; 18 MANIFOLD; 19 LAM; 21 BUN; 25 DIGRAM; 26 BONNET; 28 ASKEW; 30 DETER; 31 RAYS; 32 BEEF; 33 LAVA.

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the second of Mr. Martinez's strictures, if not with the conclusion drawn from it. He writes: "Murder, hatred, poverty, exploitation, hunger, and injustice—that is what millions and millions of people who had plenty of faith in God have obtained for thousands of years." This has been said better, curiously enough, by professing Christians. Some months ago, for instance, the Reverend J. D. Townsend of the Providence (Rhode Island, that is) Methodist Tabernacle developed the same theme with a scourging bitterness in *Zion's Herald*, a Methodist weekly printed in Boston. Here is a memorable line from that clergyman's testimony: "The story of Christianity is an almost unbroken chronicle of warfare." And just recently the executive committee of the General Conference of the Seventh Day Adventist Church (take a breath, more coming) addressed a remarkable document to the Commission on Human Rights of the U. N. Economic and Social Council. It is an eloquent plea for an internationally mandated religious freedom, for the principle of religion unharnessed to the state or to the civil code—in short, for the "free church" institutions (I am not of that persuasion either, by the way). Elaborating on Dr. Townsend's theme, this document itemizes precisely ten great wars in which an "established" or state religion played either a direct or a tributary role. Last item: the Russian Revolution (Greek Orthodox Church).

There are any number of ways to assess this melancholy material, and all of them take more elbow-room than *The Nation* can make available to its kibitzers. But I might mention one way that may interest Mr. Martinez, soliciting merely his attention, not his concurrence. *The Nation's* contributing editor, Reinhold Niebuhr of Union Theological Seminary, is one of a group of contemporary theologians preoccupied with a channel of thought sometimes called "neo-orthodoxy," which lays much stress on man's depravity. ("We are dead in trespasses and sin," said St. Paul.) The doctrine of total depravity is considerably at variance with Mr. Martinez's "faith in himself and faith in man," but it is perhaps somewhat more useful in explaining man's history. As a matter of fact, it brings us right up to the atom bomb, bacteriological warfare, and that other weapon so horrendous that it remains the War Department's peace-time secret.

MAYNARD KNISKERN

Springfield, Ohio, July 11

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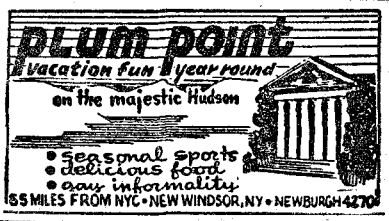
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